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SOME SOURCES OF READING PROBLEMS FOR NEGRO SPEAKERS OF NON-STANDARD ENGLISH.

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AN ATTEMPT IS MADE TO SUPPLY A SYSTEMATIC BASIS FOR THE STUDY OF THE ENGLISH OF NEGRO AND PUERTO RICAN CHILDREN AND FACTUAL INFORMATION SO THAT TEACHERS AND TEXT WRITERS CAN DESIGN THEIR EFFORTS WITH THESE SYSTEMS IN MIND. THE TWO BASIC TYPES OF PROBLEMS ARE (1) IGNORANCE OF STANDARD ENGLISH RULES ON THE PART OF SPEAKERS OF NONSTANDARD ENGLISH, AND (2) IGNORANCE OF NONSTANDARD ENGLISH RULES ON THE PART OF TEACHERS AND TEXT WRITERS. THE AUTHOR CONSIDERS THE FIRST-PRIORITY PROBLEM TO BE THE ABILITY TO READ AND COMPREHEND. HE SUMMARIZES THE PHONOLOGICAL AND GRAMMATICAL FEATURES FOUND GENERALLY IN NEGROES' SPEECH AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF THESE PROBLEMS FOR THE TEACHING OF READING. THE MOST SERIOUS DIFFICULTY RESULTS FROM THE DEVIATION OF THE UNDERLYING GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE OF NONSTANDARD SPEECH FROM THAT OF STANDARD ENGLISH. (KL)

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# SOME SOURCES OF READING PROBLEMS FOR NEGRO SPEAKERS OF NON-STANDARD ENGLISH

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Introduction: nature of the problem considered

It seems natural to look at any educational problem in terms of the particular type of ignorance which is to be overcome. In this discussion we will be concerned with two opposing and complementary types:

Ignorance of standard English rules on the part of speakers of non-standard English

Ignorance of non-standard English rules on the part of teachers and text writers.

In other words, the fundamental situation that we face is one of reciprocal ignorance, where teacher and student are ignorant of each other's system, and therefore of the rules needed to translate from one system to another.

The consequences of this situation may be outlined in the following way. When the teacher attempts to overcome the first kind of ignorance by precept and example in the classroom, she discovers that the student shows a strong and inexplicable resistance to learning the few simple rules she has been trained to teach over and over again, from the early grades to the middle, that -ed is required for the past participle ending.

but he continues to write

I have live here twelve years,

and by continues to mix up past and present tense forms in his writing. In our present series of interviews with Harlem youngsters from ten to sixteen years old,[1] we ask them to correct to classroom English such sentences as the following:

He plain me.
Ah don't know nobody.
He never play no more, man.
The man from U.N.C.L.E. hits the guys from Thrush.

Verbs such as *ain't* and *isn't* are frequently corrected, and *didn't* receives a certain amount of attention. But the double negative is often noticed, and the absence of the grammatical signals *-s* and *-ed* is rarely detected by children in the 5th, 6th or 7th grades. There can be little doubt that their ignorance of these few functional points of English inflection is connected with the fact that most of them have difficulty in reading sentences at the second grade level.

There are many reasons for the persistence of this ignorance, here I will be concerned with the role played by the second type of ignorance: the fact that the child's teacher has no intuitive knowledge of the non-standard forms which oppose and supplant standard English. Some teachers are reluctant to believe that there are systematic principles in non-standard English which differ from those of standard English. They look upon every divergence from schoolroom English as inherently evil, and they attribute these mistakes to laziness, sloppiness, or the child's natural disposition to be wrong. For these teachers, there is no substantial difference in the teaching of reading and the

teachers of geography. The child is simply ignorant of geography: he does not have a well-formed system of non-standard geography to be analyzed and corrected. From this point of view, teaching English is a question of imposing rules upon chaotic and shapeless speech--filling a vacuum by supplying rules where no rules existed before.

Other teachers are sincerely interested in understanding the language of the children, but their knowledge is inadequate and ineffective. They feel that the great difficulties in learning and Peace Mean children to read are due in part to the systematic contradictions between the rules of language used by the child and the rules used by the teacher. The recommendation which I hope to make here is to supply a systematic basis for the study of nonstandard English of Negro and Puerto Rican children, and some factual information, so that curriculum and text writers can design their teaching efforts with these ends in mind.

Seriority of problems. Within the school community, there seems to be an order of priority of educational problems, at least those in large urban centers. Many audible have to be [illegible] before we can say that a person has learned standard English. The following list is a scale of priority that I would [illegible] in concentrating our attention on the most important [illegible]:

[illegible] have not participated in such [illegible]
[illegible] to imagine her great and the prevailing [illegible]
[illegible] acculturation, or even revision of Negro [illegible]
[illegible] positions, many teachers, policemen, and [illegible]
[illegible] wish to deny the fact that the existence of [illegible]
Negro speech is a linguistic and social reality in the United
States today. The most graphic statement of the [illegible]
normally unless might read as follows. [illegible]
[illegible] and Indian are closely [illegible]
[illegible] so closely as to identify the [illegible]
[illegible] in the behavior either by their speech [illegible]

The match between this speech pattern and [illegible]
the larger ethnic group is of course far from complete. [illegible]
Negro [illegible] have none or almost none of those features
that [illegible] whites, living in close proximity to [illegible]
have these features in their own speech. But this overlap does
not prevent the features from being identified with Negro speech
by most listeners; we are dealing with a stereotype which provides
correct identification in the great majority of cases, and which
does with a high base in social reality. Such stereotypes are
the social basis of language perception; this is merely one of
many cases where listeners generalize familiar patterns to cover
all of their experience.[5] It may be usefully useful to [illegible]
these stereotypes in a certain number of individual cases, so that
people learn to limit their generalizations to the precise degree
that their experience warrants: but the overall necessity is
based upon very regular principles of human behavior, and people
will continue to identify as Negro speech the pattern which they

are likely; while monophthongization of *high* and *wife* is common, the extreme fronting of the initial vowel to the position of *ah* or near it, is less and less frequent; the back upglide of *hill* and *hurt*, so characteristic of many Southern areas, is rarely heard; grammatical features such as the perfective auxiliary *done* in *he done told me*, or the double modal of *might could*, are becoming increasingly rare. As a result, a speaker fresh from the South is plainly marked in the Northern Negro community, and his speech is ridiculed. Negro speech is thus not to be identified with Southern regional speech.

4. The white Southern speech which is heard in many Northern cities--Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland--is the Southern mountain pattern of Appalachia, and this pattern does not have many of the phonological and grammatical features of Negro speech to be discussed below in this paper.

5. Many of the individual features of Negro speech may be found in Northern white speech, as we will see, and even more in the speech of educated white Southerners. But the frequency of these features, such as consonant cluster simplification, and their distribution in relation to grammatical boundaries, is extremely relevant in Negro speech, and we are forced in many cases to indicate the existence of different underlying grammatical forms and rules.

We can sum up this discussion of Southern regional [illegible] by saying that we are witnessing the transformation of a regional speech pattern into a class and ethnic pattern in the northern cities. This is not a new phenomenon; it has occurred many times in the history of English. According to H. Kurath and E. D. Pyles, Southwestern was losing place in Shakespeare's London, where [illegible]

mark by these listeners, often in violation of actual phonic correspondences, show that they respond to Negro speech patterns as a social reality.

Relevant patterns of Negro speech

One approach to the study of non-standard Negro speech is to attempt a complete description of this form of language without direct reference to standard English. This approach can be quite revealing, and can save us from many pitfalls in the easy identification of forms that are only apparently similar. But as an overall plan, it is not realistic. We are far from achieving a complete description of standard English, to begin with; the differences between non-standard Negro speech and standard English are slight compared to their similarities; and finally, some of the differences are far more relevant to reading problems than others. Let us therefore consider some of the most relevant patterns of Negro speech from the point of view of reading problems.

Consider the following plainly marked examples of Negro-white differences. The Negro forms are patterns which frequently occur in our recordings of individual and group sessions with boys from 10 to 17 years old--ranging from careful speech in face-to-face interaction with adults, to the most excited and spontaneous activity within the primary [closed network] group.[5]

| | |
|---|---|
| It don't all ha[illegible] | t isn't always how it looks. |
| Hit him upsid[illegible] | Hit him on the head. |
| The rock [illegible] | The rock went "Shhh!" |
| I'm a shoot y[illegible] | I'm gi'na shoot you. |
| I wanna be a p[illegible] | I wanna be a policeman. |
| Ah 'on' know. [$a^{\tilde{a}}$ $\tilde{o}^{\tilde{o}}$] | I d'know. [$a^{\tilde{a}}$ $\tilde{o}^{\tilde{o}}$] |

Now consider the [illegible] of differences, which are far less plainly marked, [illegible] difficult for most people to hear:

| | |
|---|---|
| He [pu:sn] yes[illegible] | He [pud$^{\tilde{o}}$n] yesterday. |
| Give him [ðo:ᵊ] [illegible] | Give him [ðoᵊ] book. |
| Whis [je:ᵊ] p[illegible] | Whis [je:ᵊ] place? |
| [knu] Nick boy. | [ðoᵊə] Nickᵊs boy. |
| He say. [hæ:ᵊ] is. | He says, [hæɪd] is. |
| My name is [bu] | My name is [buᵊ] |

This second series represents a set of slight phonetic differences, sometimes prominent, but more often unnoticed by the casual listener. This series is much more significant than the first in terms of learning and reading standard English, and will be the basis of attention in the balance of this paper. The slight phonetic differences which are observed here include syncopation with [illegible] can lead to reading problems, and problems of hearing and writing (corresponding to the phonetic transcriptions on the left), so that one can infer such grammatical constructions and [illegible].

He pass him yesterday.
Give him they book.
Whis [illegible] you-all place?
That's Nick boy.
He say. Ce'el is.
My name is Boo.

Each of these sentences is representative of a large class of phonological and grammatical differences which mark non-standard Negro speech as against standard English. The most important are those in which large-scale phonological differences coincide with important grammatical differences. The result of this coincidence is the existence of a large number of homonyms in the speech of Negro children which are different from the set of homonyms in the speech system used by the teacher. If the teacher knows about this different set of homonyms, no serious problems in the teaching of reading need occur; but if the teacher does not know, there are found to be difficulties.

The simplest way to organize this information would be to make the headings of the important rules of the sound system which are affected. By using lists of homonyms as examples, it will be possible to avoid a great deal of phonetic notation, and deal with the essential linguistic facts. In many cases, the sounds phonemically involved are not the presence or absence of a distinction which is relevant. Thus, for example, in order to differentiate within a child-type [pin] or [pɪ$^{ə}$n] or [pɪrn] or [pin] for the word pin, there would be little or not other word to distract from [pɪn] the linguistic fact of interest is the existence of contrast, not the particular phonetic forms that are heard when one listens to [pɪn] or [pɪ$^{ə}$n]. In order to differentiate [pɪn] and [pen] in Standard English--but if one hears phonemic contrast in the child, one knows that the child has the distinction in the mind even though articulation will not supply evidence with a pattern of [pɪn] and [pen]. Such evidence should encourage them to observe what words can be distinguished by the children they are teaching.

## more phonological variables and their geographical correlates.

1. r-lessness. There are three major dialect areas in the eastern United States where the r of spelling is not pronounced as a consonant before other consonants or at the ends of words: Eastern New England, New York city, and the South [Upper and Lower]. Thus speakers from Boston, New York, Richmond, Charleston or New Iberia will show only a lengthened vowel in *bird, guard, for,* etc., and an obscure centering glide [əhmə] in place of r in *four, fourth, sure, cured, more, mourn, bore, bored,* etc. This is what we mean by r-less pronunciation. Most of these areas have been strongly influenced in recent years by the r-pronouncing patterns which is predominant in broadcasting, so that educated speakers, especially young people, will show a mixed pattern in their casual speech.[10] When the original r-less pattern is preserved, we can obtain such homonyms as the following:[11]

| | |
|---|---|
| guard = god | pear = pa |
| nor = gnaw | hoard = Borden |
| sore = saw | court = caught |

and we find that *yeah* can rhyme with *Shah, idea* with *Shea.*

Negro speakers show an even higher degree of r-lessness than New Yorkers or Bostonians. Not only is r not pronounced as such before other consonants or pauses, but also before vowels. Thus in the speech of most white New Yorkers, r is pronounced when a vowel follows in *four girlfriends* even though the r is lost at the end of a word, if the next word begins with a vowel, it is pronounced as a consonantal [r]. For most Negro speakers, r is still that pronounced in white pronunciation, and so never heard at the end of the word *four.* The white speaker is helped in his reading or spelling by

the substance of the alternation (for with fricatives, but if Negro speakers has no such clue to the underlying [r]-spelling, four of the word four. Furthermore, the same degree speakers will often not pronounce intervocalic r in the middle of a word, or indicator in the dialect spelling into'rested, Ca'ol. So has no clue, in his own speech, to the correct spelling form of such words, and may have another set of homonyms besides those listed above:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Carol | = | Cal |
| Paris | = | pass |
| tenace | = | test |

2. l-lessness. The consonant l is a liquid very similar to r in its phonetic nature. The chief difference is that with l the center of the tongue is up, and the sides are down, while with r the sides are up but the center does not touch the roof of the mouth. The pattern of l-dropping is very similar to that of r, except that it has never affected entire dialect areas in the same sweeping style.[12] When l disappears, it is often replaced by a back unrounded glide, sometimes symbolized [ʾ], instead of the center glide that replaces r. In many areas, l disappears variably, especially after the back rounded vowels. The loss of l is much more marked among the Negro speakers we have encountered than whites in Northern cities, and we therefore have much greater tendencies towards such homonyms as:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| coll | = | coe | all | = | awe |
| tool | = | too | soul | = | sow |
| help | = | hep | fault | = | fought |

3. Simplification of consonant clusters. One of the most complex variables which is relevant to Negro speech is the general tendency towards the simplification of consonant clusters at the

tons, or disappear entirely. Final /t/ is often realized as glottal stop, as in many English dialects, but more often disappears entirely. Less often, final /d/ and /n/ follow the same route as /t/ and /k/: /d/ is devoiced or disappears, and /n/ is replaced by glottal stop or disappears. Final /r/ and /l/ usually result in some degree of nasalization of the preceding vowel. Finally, diphthongs /a/ and /e/ are weakened after vowels to the point where no consonant is heard at all. As a result of these processes, one may have such homonyms as:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| foot | = | boo[15] | suit | = | sood = sue[16] |
| road | = | row | poor | = | pore = pour |
| food | = | foot | bit | = | bid = bee |

It is evident that the loss of final /t/ and /k/, discussed above, is another aspect of this general weakening of final consonants, though of a much more regular nature than the cases considered in this section.

5. Other pharyngeal modifications. In addition to the types of homonyms singled out in the preceding discussion, there are a great many others which may be mentioned. They are of less importance for reading problems in general, since they have little impact upon inflectional rules, but may be salient characteristics in the speech of Negro children. There is no distinction between /i/ and /e/ before nasals in the great majority of cases in the parallel cases before /r/, and sometimes /l/. In most of this situation between the vowels /ih/ and /eh/. The corresponding pair of back vowels before /r/ are often distinguished: that is, /oh/ and /oh/ fall together. The diphthongs /es/ and /ow/ are often monophthongized, so that they are not distinguished from /ih/. The diphthong /oy/ is often a monophthong, especially before /l/.

and cannot be distinguished from /eh/.

Among other consonant variables, we find the final fricatives /v/ is frequently merged with /f/, and similarly final /d/ with /t/. Less frequently, /θ/ and /ð/ become /t/ and /d/ in intervocalic position. Initial consonant clusters when involve /r/ show considerable variation: /str/ is often heard as /skr/; /tw/ as /kw, sw, θw/. In a more complex series of shifts, /r/ is frequently lost as the final element of an initial cluster.

As a result of these various phonological processes, we find that the following series of homonyms are characteristic of the speech of many Negro children:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| pin = pen | bear = bear | poor = pour |
| bin = ben | shear = sheer | buys = shoes |
| since = cents | steer = steer | more = more |
| | peel = pail | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| find = found = fond | bell = bill | |
| dime = dam | sell = sill | |
| pound = pond | | |

| | |
|---|---|
| mush = mood | stream = stream |
| deuth = deaf | stroop = scroup |

Changes in the phrase already. The series of homonyms listed in the preceding sections indicate that Negro children may have difficulty in recognizing many words in their standard spellings and may look up words under the wrong spellings in dictionaries. They are unable to distinguish words which are plainly distinct for most teachers. If the teacher is aware of these sources of confusion, he may be able to anticipate a great many of the children's difficulties. Even if neither the teacher nor the children are aware of the current differences in their uses of homonyms, it is obvious that confusion will occur in every reading assignment.

Moreover, the occurrence of homonyms on the level of a phonetic output does not prove that the speakers have the same sets of contrasts on the more abstract level which corresponds to the spelling system. For instance, many New Yorkers merge *poor* and *pore* in actual speech, but in reading style, they have no difficulty in pronouncing the /r/ where it belongs. Since the /r/ in *pore* re-appears before a following vowel, it is evident that an abstract //r// occurs in their lexical system: //por//. Thus the standard spelling system finds support in the learned patterns of careful speech, and in the alternations which exist within any given style of speech.

The phonetic processes discussed above are often considered to be "low level" rules--that is, they do not affect the underlying or abstract representations of words. One piece of evidence for this view is that the deletable final /r, l, ɛ, s, t, ʧ/ tend to be restored when a vowel follows at the beginning of the next word. This effect of a following vowel could seem to be a phonetic rule, reversing the operation of a phonetic rule; in any event, it is plain that the final consonant must "be there" in some abstract sense, if it appears in this prevocalic position. If we were not the case, we would find a variety of odd final consonants appearing with no final relation to the standard form.[10]

For all of the major variables that we have considered, there is a definite and predictable effect of a following vowel in driving the standard form. Figure 1 shows the effect of a following vowel or final /-ət/ in the speech of four Negro and white children. In every case, we find that the percent of simplification of the clusters falls when a vowel follows.

Figure 1. Effect of a following vowel on /-t-/ burst clusters for four Negro and three white speakers

The same argument, however, can be applied to show that the Negev speakers have underlying forms containing different kinds of vowel sequences. The Arabic speakers showed almost no over-all simplification of the clusters before a following consonant, but none at all before a following vowel. In other words, their abstract forms were effectively equivalent to the spelling forms. The Negev speakers showed only a limited reduction in the degree of simplification when a vowel followed.

We can explore this situation more carefully when we consider grammatical conditioning. But we can point to one alternation which proves the existence of non-schwa underlying forms quite clearly. In the most careful and spontaneous speech of the young Negev people whose [language] we have been examining, the plural /-e/ inflection is often deleted. It follows the same phonetic rules as an attached article. In after stressed /t, s, d, z/, the regular form is [-əs]. In after other voiceless consonants, [s], the regular form of the plural after a word like [bayt] 'house' is [-ət], as in [bayt]. If the rules were to operate that way beginning with the abstract form //bayt//, added the //-e//, and then deleted the /e/ in the consonant cluster simplification process, we would find the plural phonetic form [bayt]. We do in fact sometimes find this form, in a context which implies the plural. But more often, we find [bayt], [bayt], [bayt], or the like, with loss of both [ə]'s and [t]'s.

A form such as [bayt] implies an order of the rules that begins with //bay//, so that when //bayt// immediately to [bay] when the plural //-e// is added, and the phonetic rules can

```
use /bin/antiquation

        bend = send             hand = hind
        bind = mind             hard = hind
        bond = bind             hind = hond
        bond = bond             hond = hond
        bond = bond             hond = hond
        bond = bond             hond
```

the rise in the mid-section

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The Tamil unpreceded to this problem in through a study of the quantitative distribution of the forms as spoken by negro and white Americans in a variety of colloquial contexts. To construct the simplified description of contemporary colloquial Tamil, which is presented by grammatical features found in a study of the two groups: [a] BP has a Generalized /r/ as in /ra:ja/ 'king' and /ra:ja/ 'raja' [b] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [c] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [d] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [e] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [f] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [g] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [h] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [i] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [j] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [k] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [l] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [m] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [n] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [o] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [p] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [q] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [r] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [s] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [t] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [u] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [v] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [w] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [x] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [y] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja' [z] BP has a Generalized /l/ as in /la:ja/ 'lazy' and /la:ja/ 'raja'

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Figure 2. Effect of grammatical status on /t,d/ of final clusters for one Negro and one white speaker

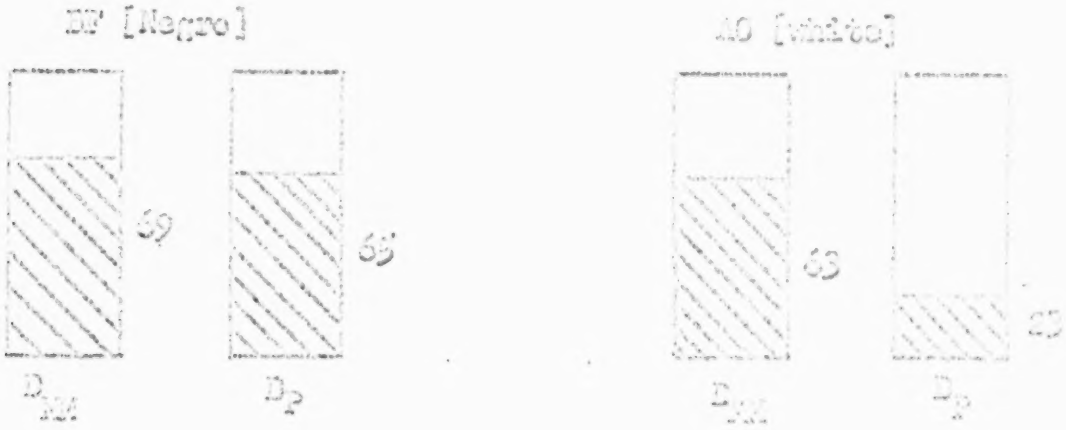
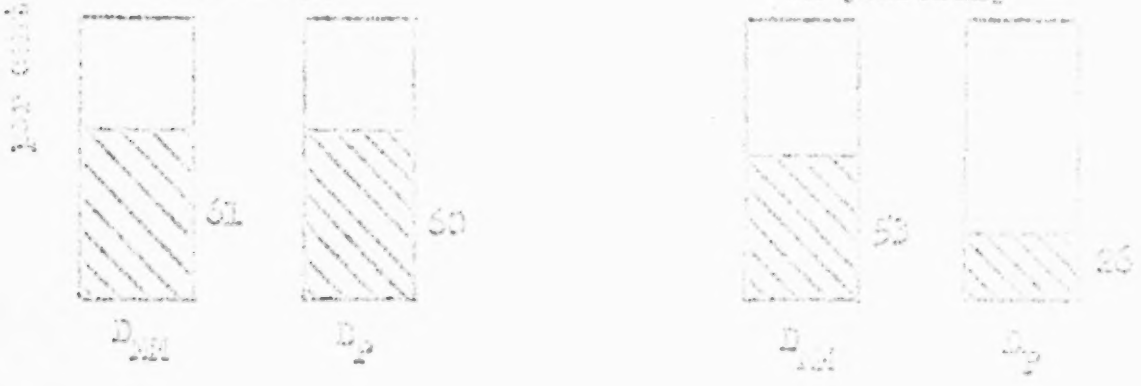



Figure 3. Effect of syllable level and grammatical status on /t,d/ of final clusters for one Negro speaker




$D_{MM}$: /t,d/ final in monomorphemic (root) clusters

$D_P$ : /t,d/ final as past tense <u>and</u> morpheme

to and possible down vowel figures that there is a split in the pronunciation of an -_e suffix. Phonological studies could have a difference than the unfavorable phonological environment as each other. Secondly, we can see that there is a good match for pronunciation with the lowest terms of standard English 50% of the responses conformed to the standard norm in a favorable environment. Upon another point of view, however, one might say that in half the cases, the boys gave an evidence that they would prefer such spellings as pain or bird as corresponding to their [peɪn] and [bɜd].

The boys, some four years older, are very similar in their /ɪ-e/ patterns. The phonological conditioning has become even more regular-that is, the effect of the following vowel is more pronounced. All of the rest showed the simplified pattern with only a small percentage before vowels. The earlier difficulties seem to be largely solved. To say positive that the previous difficulty has brought better knowledge of the standard norm, limited terms of standard English, but the author of the exercises is still about the same.

Perception Results. A second approach to the problem of the -_e suffix is through perceptual testing. It is possible that the speakers are not able to hear the difference between [ɪ-e] [eɪ-e] and [aɪ-e]. If the phonological deduction about the problem stands, this might be the case. To explore this possibility by a simple test of the following type. The subject has been in a series of three words. Two are alike, and he is to say which one is different. The test is repeated six times.

ability to supply -ed, and the Cobras showed no [illegible]
of the nature of this element.[2]

The -ed pronunciation test. The most effective way of [illegible]
the grammatical significance of -ed for the groups we [illegible]
reading with an through a series of sentences in the reading [illegible]
used in our interviews. The relevant sentences are as follows:

[a] Last month I read five books
[b] Tom read [illegible] the view
[c] How I read and wrote better than others could
[d] When I passed by, I read the sentence.
[e] When I lived [illegible] about, I read every word.
[f] I looked for trouble when I read the notes.

These sentences depend upon the unique homograph _read_ to [illegible]
whether or not the reader is interpreting the -ed suffix as a
past tense signal. The first three sentences show whether or not
the reader can use the time indicators _last month, how, and the_
absence of -s to distinguish correctly between [rid] and [red].
In sentences [d, e, f] the reader first encounters the -ed suffix
which he may or may not pronounce. If he interprets this suffix
signal as a sign of the past tense, he will pronounce it as
[rɛd]; if not, he is apt to say [ri:d]. The distance between
the -ed suffix and the word _read_ is kept as short as possible in
sentence [c], so that here at least there is no problem of [illegible]
sounding -ed and then forgetting it.

The overall results of this test show that -ed is [illegible]
correctly less than half the time by the Vancouverites [illegible]
when the -ed suffix is pronounced. The Cobras show no [illegible]
improvement in this respect. For each group, only one [illegible]
able to approximate the standard English performance in this [illegible]

examples form one another. For the Cobras, this [illegible] phrase.

The plural is purely local, and shows the usual effect of the following vowel. We can conclude that the plural inflection is the same for the Thunderbirds, the Cobras, and characters together.

In the case of the 3rd person singular marker and the possessive, an extraordinary reversal is found. For the Thunderbirds, the future tense can be summarized as follows:

| $P_{/i/}$ | $\frac{P_{/i/}}{P_{/\emptyset/}}$ | $\frac{/i/}{/\emptyset/}$ |
|---|---|---|
| simplified | 1? | 12 |
| not simplified | 1 | 0 |

We only [illegible] $P_{/i/}$ than in $P_{/\emptyset/}$ that the $P_{/i/}$ with the exception of influence of a following vowel in pronoun. It should at all appeared in the more favorable environment for the phonological rule. [illegible] no longer effectively describe a synchronic alternation, but rather as a grammatical fact. The third person singular marker *//-s//* does not exist in the possessive pronoun being used here. The zero argument value for the possessive *//-ɛ//* which, though as noted above, we cannot choose this argument [illegible] form of the possessive in general.

[illegible] about this situation is that the child [illegible] has failed in several respects to [illegible] English forms is connected with their development and [illegible] the [illegible] of the 3rd person singular marker.